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NATIONAL

NOVEL ON RASPUTIN ATTACKED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jul 79 p 9

[Review of Valentin Pikul's Novel "Y posledney cherty," ("Just Before the End") by Irina Pushkareva, doctor of historical sciences: "When a Sense of Measure Is Lost"]

[Text] The creative work of Valentin Pikul' is devoted mainly to the historical past of Russia. The writer has published many works which have aroused interest among readers and brought him popularity. These are the novels "Slovo i delo;" "Perom i shpagoy;" "Na zadvorkakh velikoy imperii;" "Moonzund;" "Bogatstvo" and others.

V. Pikul's new novel "Y posledney cherty" has just seen publication in the magazine "Nash sovremennik." Familiarity with this work leads to the conclusion that the author, unfortunately, has released to the world a raw, still unfinished thing, suffering from fanciful artistic flaws and defects.

V. Pikul' begins his novel with a quote from the first "Pis'ma iz daleka" (Letters from Afar") of V. I. Lenin which says that the revolution of 1905-1907 and the counter-revolutionary epoch which followed uncovered all the "decay, vileness, cynicism, and depravity of the tsarist gang." While not going deeper in his analysis of these and other expressions of Lenin connected to this epoch, V. Pikul' depicts the complete vices of the life of Rasputin, the tsar, tsarina, court camarilla, tsar's ministers, and dignataries. A writer, like a scientist, is obliged to examine the historical events in their dialectical relationships, even more so in a novel claiming to be a documented description of the revolutionary events which saturated the epoch. But, unfortunately, in V. Pikul's work, an historical background is lacking, if one does not count several lines which were literally stuck into the narrative about the number of strikes, the blast of the factory whistles with the call for a strike, or the abrupt reference to the 100 year anniversary of the Borodinskiy battle, an aviation holiday and mention of the maxim regarding the painting by Repin "Kakoy prostor!"

The author evidently retreated from the one true principle--the class approach to evaluating the past, uncritically relating to the literature to which

he is attracted. Page after page, V. Pikul'uses the writings of the Grand Duke Nikolay Mikhaylovich and high monk Iliodor, the fabricated recollections of Rasputin, the memoirs of Virubova, exposed long ago by Soviet historians as fake, and many others. From this literature, if one can call it that, erroneous ideas and views seep into the novel on the collapse of the governmental mechanism of tsarist Russia. And although the author himself may be numbered among historian-chroniclers, it cannot be said that his work is historical. In the novel the treatment of the epoch is distorted, the priorities in the evaluation of the historical process were shifted, and a number of historical personages were incorrectly described. As a result, in his novel, one cannot find a reflection of the predominant contradictions of that time which defined the revolutionary situation in Russia and which led to the overthrow of the monarchy and the victory of the October socialist revolution.

It is true that history is always much more profound in content and more dramatic than any fiction. There is no reason to relish the scenes of the orgiastic sins of the tsar and court to prove the disintegration of autocracy. Disclosing the tsar's conduct from a political instead of a philistine point of view shows that Nikolas II was by no means either a comic or spineless person. He and his close associates (the hanger on-Stolypin and others) were above all class enemies of the popular masses. The tendency of the governing leadership toward ruthless punitive actions only forged the strength of the revolutionary movement.

By substituting the class struggle with ideas of the spontaneous decomposition of autocracy, V. Pikul', whether he wishes to or not, somehow becomes an adherent to the version which has been inflated by the bourgeois fabricators of history. They exaggerate the role of the personality of Rasputin. The influence of Rasputin actually did increase to some degree in the environment of the court camarilla in the final days of the tsarist regime during the years, and this was one of the many symptoms of the crisis of the governing leadership. In his novel V. Pikul' is ready to call almost the entire prerevolutionary period the "Rasputin epoch." It is as if the author has turned everything upside down. The Rasputin period is shown not as a result of the autocratic system but as a reason for the failure of the tsarist throne. No matter what reservations the author has, the entire logic of the narrative leads to the fact that at the end of the novel the murder of Rasputin, accomplished by the tsarist court, is presented as a revolutionary act; the night of the murder is called an "historical night" in the novel.

The non-class approach also characterizes the insistent emphasis by the author of the national affiliation of one or another character connected with Rasputin and the tsarist clique.

I will note that the genre of a chronicle, selected by the author, is not maintained. A chronicle account of events taken from memoirs is presented only in connection with scenes from life in the high society of Russia on the eve of the war, with the presentation of Rasputin's pastimes based on reports

of police spies, and also with the description of the last day of his life. In general, the novel is choked with superfluous details, with the very same things which earlier brought the fashionable chronicle into print (information on the tsar's illnesses, the birth of their children, the tsar's travels, descriptions of the clothing of Rasputin, the tsarina, and so on). A strong influence on the language of the novel was exerted by that literature which was used by the author. Our soviet literature has always been distinguished by a high level of morals. To whom is a novel addressed in which vulgar scenes are described while savoring the "life" of Rasputin and other "heroes"? The language in the work is extremely simplified, super-saturated with coarse words, anecdotes and even with obscene swearing. All that remains is to express perplexity at why the magazine "Nash sovremennik", having given a start in life to many deserving works of soviet literature, this time published V. Pikul's novel "Y posledney cherty", which borders on gutter literature.

V. Pikul's work with historical material has already been criticized by scholars. They noted an unrestricted manipulation and an incorrect interpretation of fact, and an uncritical attitude toward the author's sources. It is a shame that this criticism did not produce an effect. The work of Soviet writers with an historical theme has always been distinguished by ideological profundity and an authentic historical method fused with lofty art. V. Pinkul', unfortunately, has acted contrary to this tradition.

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CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

MEASURES TO PREVENT SPREAD OF VENEREAL DISEASES

Moscow VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA RSFSR in Russian No 29, 19 Jul 79 p 460

[Ukase No 712 of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Intensifying the Fight Against the Spread of Venereal Diseases]

[Text] In order to intensify the fight against the spread of venereal diseases, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet hereby resolves:

1. That persons in relation to whom there are sufficient data to presume that they have venereal disease are subject to compulsory medical certification in the event of their refusal to undergo certification on a voluntary basis.
2. That persons in relation to whom it is decided following medical certification that they must undergo preventive treatment are subject to compulsory preventive treatment in the event they refuse it.
3. That persons in relation to whom therapeutic-preventive institutions have made a decision for compulsory medical certification or compulsory preventive treatment are obligated to appear at therapeutic-preventive institutions in response to written notification from the latter.

That in the event of failure to appear, such persons are to be escorted to the therapeutic-preventive institutions by workers of these institutions with the cooperation of internal affairs agencies in the necessary cases.

4. That refusal to be treated for venereal disease following notification by public health agencies carries criminal liability in the established legal order.
5. That concealment, by patients suffering venereal disease, of the source of infection as well as persons having contact with them and creating a danger of venereal disease infection carries administrative liability in the form of a fine of up to 50 rubles.

That materials concerning application of administrative measures foreseen by the first part of the present article are examined by village and rural

councils of peoples deputies, their executive committees, or administrative commissions of the executive committees of rayon, city, city rayon, town, and rural councils of peoples deputies.

6. That on coordination with the RSFSR Procurator's Office and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the RSFSR Ministry of Public Health is to develop and approve, jointly with the RSFSR Ministry of Justice, instructions on the order for compulsory medical certification and compulsory preventive treatment, and on the order for preparing and submitting, to administrative commissions, materials concerning patients with venereal disease who had concealed the source of infection as well as persons having contact with them and creating the danger of venereal disease infection.

7. That the 24 January 1927 decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the RSFSR Council of Peoples Commissars "On Measures for Fighting Venereal Diseases" (RSFSR Criminal Code, 1927, No 13, Article 90) is null and void.

Chairman, Presidium, RSFSR Supreme Soviet,
M. Yasnov

Secretary, Presidium, RSFSR Supreme Soviet,
Kh. Neshkov

Moscow, 11 July 1979
[902-11004]

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NATIONALITY POLICY AND TERRITORIAL PLANNING LINKED

Regional Planning of Balances, Proportions

Moscow EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 6, 1979 pp 53-58

[Article by Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences member I. Mikeladze: "Certain Pressing Problems of Territorial Planning"]

[Text] Problems of comprehensive territorial economic and social planning and of territorial production organization have taken on especially great importance under present conditions, when the tasks of ensuring an optimum balance in the national economic plan with the fullest unity of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism and of ensuring increased production efficiency and work quality to the maximum extent possible are being resolved. In order to resolve such tasks, it is necessary that an efficient physical distribution of productive forces in regions of various ranks -- union republics, autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts, major economic regions, production-territorial complexes, administrative oblasts, krays and rayons -- be achieved, to an even greater extent than has heretofore been the case.

At the basis of all territorial planning lies the necessity of maximum scientifically substantiated consideration of the interests of ensuring expanded reproduction in the USSR as a whole and in individual regions of it. Only the observance of national economic proportions and meeting the demands of comprehensive resolution of production-territorial problems on any scale will ensure that an optimum combination of the principles of branch and territorial planning will be achieved.

Back at the dawn of socialist planning, the needs of combining branch and territorial planning aspects were reflected in practical activity in managing our national economy. The GOELRO [State Commission for the Electrification of Russia] plan, developed under the direct leadership of V. I. Lenin, outlined, along with branch measures, other measures to develop the economy of individual economic regions, measures which were successfully carried out during the course of fulfilling this plan. Such a fundamental approach to planned leadership of the socialist economy and culture became obligatory

and has been systematically actualized, as is testified to with particular conviction by the half a century of Soviet five-year plans.

In the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, speaking about improving national economic planning, noted: "The tasks facing us here are obvious. They are to concentrate forces and resources on carrying out the most important statewide programs, to combine more skillfully branch and territorial development, long-range and current problems, and to ensure a balanced economy."¹

An extensive section of the "Basic Directions of USSR National Economic Development in 1976-1980," approved by the 25th CPSU Congress, is devoted to the territorial proportions of distributing productive forces, to solving problems of comprehensively and efficiently developing the union republics and the major economic regions of the country.

Like branch planning, territorial planning is done foremost on a statewide scale and serves to meet the nationwide interests of socialist society, including, of course, the interests of the workers in the regions concerned. We must constantly be governed by V. I. Lenin's instruction that comprehensive development of a region must begin from below the region, "...from setting up a small 'whole', but still just that, a 'whole', in exemplary fashion, that is, not a single farm, a single branch of the economy or a single enterprise, but the sum of all economic relations, the sum of all economic circulation, although of a small area."² The action of the basic economic law of socialism, which demands steady improvement in the material and cultural well-being of the people, generates the central starting point of territorial planning, as of all other planning. Along with the basic law, the territorial plans also reflect the requirements of other economic laws operating in socialist society. All these laws shape, by their hierarchical interaction, the development of a territorial division of labor, which is reflected in planning the regional aspect of the socialist national economy.

Under socialism, as a result of the supremacy of public ownership of the means of production, every condition necessary to the uniform distribution of industry throughout the country and to the planned organization of production in all union republics while ensuring systematic progress in expanded reproduction and the harmonious development of all aspects of the economic and social life of the individual regions of the country has been created. The principle of an optimum combination of branch and territorial planning plays a most important role in resolving these tasks.

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1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 59.
 2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 43, p 234.

It is the task of territorial planning to reveal and plan the comprehensive and effective development of the productive forces of a region in conformity with the specifics of its economic and natural conditions through increasing in every way possible the impact of its participation in nationwide expanded reproduction. This task is resolved on the basis of an efficient structuring of the general plan for the territorial distribution of productive forces, a plan based on regional production specialization within the system of nationwide territorial division of labor in combination with the overall direction of the economy. The comprehensive economic and social development plans of the country's individual regions embody the orientation of the activity not of a mechanical aggregate of enterprises and the production facilities comprising them, but of an organic whole based on economic and social interdependency and harmony of development of all the economic elements of a region while observing the interests of both the country's national economy as a whole and the particular region itself.

Branch and territorial planning are two aspects of a unified statewide plan for developing the national economy. The former is oriented towards finding optimum technical and economic resolutions for a branch to achieve the maximum economic impact with minimum calculated expenditures. Naturally, branch planning presupposes a certain geographic distribution of production, but that aspect of branch planning must not be considered identical to territorial planning. Branch planning is involved with searching for a territorial production organization which will ensure a branch optimum for such indicators as specific capital investment, labor productivity level, output prime cost, and others.

As distinct from branch planning, territorial planning has as its object the territory of a region of a given rank, and the territory is understood in this instance to be not purely a geographic concept, but a production complex with certain specific conditions. Within this complex, production requirements as to labor resources, land, electric power, fuel, raw and other materials, and also the material and spiritual needs of the population must be met effectively. In such an approach, the necessity arises of calculating the economic effectiveness of production facilities being planned for a given territory with consideration of the necessity of solving such problems common to all production facilities as the development of housing, roads and municipal services, trade, education, medical services, and so forth. The savings in capital investments and operating expenses is estimated, given such an approach, as against how the problems would be solved from purely branch positions, without consideration of branch-wide interests and tasks. In other words, it is necessary to determine for the individual production facilities and enterprises comprising the region as a complex the so-called regional coefficient of expenditures, which is compared with the branch coefficient of expenditures which would exist were they to be made outside the complex.

One important feature of territorial (and branch) planning is the proper combining of centralized, planned guidance of national economic development

with all possible initiative by local party and soviet organs and local labor collectives. This is particularly essential to revealing additional local opportunities for fulfilling and overfulfilling plan indicators.

Territorial planning is in turn the determination of basic directions of economic and social development of the union republics of our multinational country. It is therefore inseparable from Leninist national policy principles, and in particular, from the solution of tasks of equalizing levels of union republic economic development. Special attention should be paid to the fact that the principle of equalizing levels of economic development should not be understood mechanically, that is, seen as a demand that the structure of a republic economy and the structure of the national economy of the entire country coincide fully. A coinciding of this kind would contradict the principle of republic national economy production specialization. Equalization of the levels of union republic economic development must be understood as the tendency of their economic and social development to gradually mitigate gaps in the level of overall basic national economic indicators and corresponding republic indicators.

In solving territorial planning problems, one must proceed from the premise that the multibranch economy of a union republic is not a mechanical aggregate of spheres and branches of the national economy, but an organically linked, interdeterminant entity within the framework of a unified union-wide economy. While developing under the influence of natural laws inherent to a given stage of the national economy of the entire country, the union republic also has more or less essential features associated with its population size and structure, labor resources, the status and concrete features of its productive forces, its natural resources, soil and weather conditions. Continued improvement in territorial planning and ensuring the most effective, proportional and balanced development of the union republic economies will require particular attention to a balanced target-program method and to simulating the basic economic and social categories by means of economic-mathematical calculations and computers.

And attention must also be paid to the necessity of following more closely the established procedure for organizing planning work. Instances of union ministries and departments communicating basic plan draft indicators for branches, enterprises, construction sites and organizations within a republic to the republic planning organs with delays are still frequent. This naturally makes it harder for the republic to make the required budget calculations for submission to union organs comprehensively planning the development of the republic's national economy. In such situations, republic planning organs do not have time for the thorough development of scientifically substantiated proposals on developing branches of the republic national economy.

Regional proportions occupy a leading place in territorial planning. They differ in nature and can, it seems to us, be classified as follows: 1) proportions of a region's natural resources (potential opportunities resulting

from these resources must be compared with the level of their actual use); 2) the synthetic, that is, most generalized, national-economic proportions of the region, reflecting the national economic balance, with all its component parts; 3) the interbranch and intrabranh proportions of the region; 4) proportions of the region's social development, in which we delineate proportions in the development of material branches of the infrastructure and indicators on environmental and nature protection. This kind of classification seems to us justified and useful not only in terms of its methodological substantiation, but also from the viewpoint of the need to best coordinate regional and branch proportions. National economic planning has always assumed consideration both of the demands of branch development which stem from the features of its material-technical base, production organization, branch specialization and its role in the reproduction process, and so forth, and of the demands as to physical location of the economy, which reflect natural-historical, demographic, economic and social features of individual regions of the country.

Practical coordination of the principles of branch and territorial planning does not exclude the possibility that certain partial collisions will occur. In resolving them, the guiding principle is the priority of union-wide interests over local or branch interests. In these cases, the economic benefits of the branch and territorial optimum must be compared. It should be borne in mind in this regard that the national economic significance of territorial factors does not always lend itself to being fully recorded in net economic effectiveness defined in cost terms. The fact is that developing the productive forces of a region has a certain independent importance resulting from the goals of our national policy and from long-range prospects for the USSR national economy as a unified national economic complex. Also to be reckoned with is the fact that effectiveness calculations made for isolated branches and production facilities can lead to conflict with determining the economic effectiveness in a national economic cross-section.

For example, the birth of a large chemical complex in Rustava (Georgian SSR) in the post-war period, consisting of a nitrogen fertilizer plant and caprolactam and chemical fiber plants, was made possible by the use of hydrogen-rich coking battery gas from the Rustava Metallurgical Plant to produce ammonia. Removing this gas from the strained fuel balance of the metallurgical plant naturally conflicted with the branch interests of ferrous metallurgy, but economic calculations showed that the savings obtained by producing mineral fertilizers in Georgia by using the coking gas instead of importing these fertilizers from the Donbass significantly exceeded expenditures associated with importing fuel to Rustava for the metallurgical plant. In this regard, it must be borne in mind that Georgia, with its large areas planted to tea, tobacco and other commercial crops, needs more mineral fertilizers than average.

The birth of the Rustava Metallurgical Plant itself, based on the use of iron ore from the Dashkesanskiy deposit in Azerbaijan SSR and coking coals from Georgia and the Donbass, resulted not so much from purely branch interests of ferrous metallurgy as from national economic, union-wide considerations.

This solution to the problem of siting a metallurgical production facility in Georgia played a decisive role in industrial development of the republic, inasmuch as this plant then became a base for the combined development not only of a chemical combine, but also of other branches of industry -- building materials, machine building and metalworking, large-scale power engineering -- and, finally, for the formation of Rustava, an industrial city with all the modern conveniences.

Organizing the industrial complex in Rustava has fully justified itself, especially after it was switched over to natural gas. The basic enterprises of this complex, initially unprofitable, have advanced to the ranks of the leading enterprises of their respective branches following radical renovation and considerable expansion.

With a view towards raising the scientific level of comprehensive union republic national economic development plan compilation, the national economic balance must be analyzed for the reporting and base periods. This helps us better compile the plan balance and develop more thoroughly foremost such components of it as the national wealth balance, the social product and national income balance, and also certain aspects of the labor resources balance and the population expenditures balance.

In examining the national wealth balance, special consideration should be given to indicators of the demographic situation, the degree of arable land, raw material, fuel, water and forest use, as well as to soil and weather conditions and the demands of protecting nature and the environment. In addition to natural resources, we must also examine the fixed assets of the republic national economy and their branch-structure features, delineating production and nonproduction assets. Capital dynamics must be analyzed in comparison to national income growth. Features of fixed asset reproduction should be revealed and linked to the necessity, caused by scientific and technical progress, of accelerating the renewal of fixed production assets and reducing average equipment service life expectancy. Such an approach to planning union republic national economic development also serves to improve the coordination of plan branch and territorial aspects, to improve all our national economic planning.

The principle of an optimum combination of branch and territorial planning and scientifically well thought-out consideration of the features and requirements of the Georgian SSR national economy found reflection in the 10th five-year plan for republic economic and social development.

The "Basic Directions of USSR National Economic Development for 1976-1980" approved by the 25th CPSU Congress set high rates of growth for Georgia for a number of economic indicators, and especially for those in which some lag is still being noted between republic levels and average levels for the country as a whole. New enterprises are being built in industry, agriculture, transport and a number of sociocultural facilities, and existing enterprises are being radically renovated during the current five-year plan. As a result of the great labor upsurge and the development of nationwide socialist

competition, Georgian laborers have already achieved economic development rates in the first three years of this five-year plan which would fully ensure a successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

In accordance with the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress, considerable work is being done in the republic to increase the rates of growth of the basic branches of material production, to strengthen territorial planning and encompass more of the whole economy in the republic with it. Republic and local planning organs have begun influencing the shaping of branch plans in a territorial cross-section more actively. Many planning questions are being resolved more precisely and efficiently, both "vertically" and "horizontally." The branch structure of the aggregate social product is characterized by a gradual growth in the proportion of industry. A trend towards a gradual smoothing over of differences in the amounts of national income produced and used in the republic has developed.

When studying the features of territorial planning, the question of ensuring full and efficient employment of the population able to work is of top priority importance.

In this connection, it should be noted that in Georgia, a significant percentage of the population able to work is still not employed in collectivized production, especially in mountainous regions. At present, steps have been planned and are already being implemented to draw into social production a portion of the rural population, primarily women employed basically at private subsidiary agricultural production. The employment structure in social production is being improved and the proportion of those working in nonproductive branches is increasing. In this regard, an increase in the release of industrial and agricultural output is being ensured on the basis of increasing labor productivity.

One difference between Georgia and a number of other union republics is its significantly higher proportion of people engaged in agriculture and forestry. There are many reasons for this, but the most important is the comparatively low level of mechanization of production processes in the cultivation of perennial commercial crops and in livestock raising. This results in a comparatively low level of labor productivity, especially in mountainous and other rugged terrain.

According to our calculations, one in every nine republic residents is working in agriculture. According to Soviet economists, for the USSR as a whole, the average can be brought down to one in every 40-50 persons within the next 25-30 years, given the full use of all the achievements of scientific and technical progress.¹ Projecting this indicator relative to Georgia, it can be expected that, given agricultural output growth and increased mechanization, one worker in republic agriculture will be able provide for at least

1. See: V. Venzher, "Problems of Agricultural Industrialization," in VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 8, 1971.

20-25 people. The effect of such negative factors as land availability, terrain and a high proportion of labor-intensive perennial and commercial crops will remain in force.

When studying the economic development of a union republic, one methodological requirement is to determine coefficients of its territorial specialization and overall development. Branches of the national economy whose output, by being a significant proportion of the republic national income, plays a large role in union-wide consumption should be examined in this aspect.

In Georgia, such specialized branches include the production of manganese ore, manganic ferroalloys, copper, zinc and lead ore, a number of minerals, seamless steel pipe, synthetic resins, electric locomotives, trucks, and so on. In this connection, the following consumer goods should be cited: tea, wine and wine-making products, essential oils, tobacco, laurel, mineral waters, fruit, canned fruit, citrus, certain types of silk, wool and haberdashery articles, and others. The republic health resort economy must also be included in this category of branches.

Comprehensive development of the national economy of a republic or other region is closely linked to territorial specialization. Such production facilities as meet republic needs for implements of labor, consumer goods and various types of infrastructure must be examined in this aspect. This particular grouping should take into account not only the current status of the branches, but also their long-range prospects.

Thus, for example, Georgian agriculture meets republic requirements for meat and meat products, milk and dairy products, as well as vegetables; but this in no way signifies that the necessity of importing these products from other regions of the country is not considered in the production and distribution balances for them. A similar situation is also observed with regard to the production of a number of implements of labor.

Republic production of agricultural machinery, tractors and tractor attachments, and technological equipment for the food industry is intended to meet the requirements of Georgian mountain farming and stockraising, but at a certain level of such production, the needs of other mountain regions of the country must also be taken into account.

The anticipated trend is for Georgian exports to grow more intensively than its imports; this is to be explained by the fact that in recent years, branches of republic territorial specialization have been developing at outstripping rates, in the production of both means of production, and especially implements of labor (machinery, apparatus, equipment) and consumer goods (tea, wine, citrus, essential-oil plants, fruit, early vegetables). This tendency towards an increase in the production of territorial specialization branches must be developed even more in the long term.

The clearest example of a comprehensive approach to territorial and branch planning is an optimum combination of economic and social development plans.

Developing branches of material production, and foremost industry, in all ways possible, has the result of generating various types of social services. In turn, social actions, raising the ideological level of the population and improving their general-educational and occupational training, and vitalizing the social climate, influences improving the quantitative and qualitative indicators of the economic development of the republic or a given region.

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Equalizing Differences in Regional Development

Moscow EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 6, 1979 pp 58-61

[Article by Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member A. Guniya: "Equalizing the Economic Levels of Regions -- A Natural Process"]

[Text] The process of equalizing the levels of economic development of different regions, including union republics, is reflected in faster economic growth rates, and foremost in industry and agriculture, in regions with a tsarist Russia legacy of retarded economic development. The course towards systematic, comprehensive implementation of this process was set at the very start of building socialism. Using the action of the objective economic pattern of equalization of the levels of economic development of large regions and union republics, the Soviet state has been able, in individual periods and depending on the tasks facing the country, to change growth rates, which also means capital investment proportions, both for the union republics and for the large economic regions. In this regard, consideration has always been given to the specific historical, national and natural conditions, as well as to the proportion the population of each union republic or large economic region is of the total USSR population.

Equalization of the levels of the union republic economies is first of all a process of developing their production in general, and in particular, of developing industry and agriculture, with a preference for industry. Substantial structural changes occur first in the sphere of material production and then throughout the national economy.

Georgia illustrates the indicated theses. In the 1909-1919 period, its industry and agriculture accounted for only 10 percent of all output, in 1928-1929 -- 36 percent, in 1937 -- 75 percent, and in 1976 -- 80 percent, of which 20 percent was accounted for by agriculture, instead of its 90 percent share on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Such radical changes are closely connected with the fact that the increment in capital investment in the republic national economy have been above the union-wide level throughout the years of Soviet power. The rapid rates of progress in material production have become a reliable base for the comprehensive development of science, culture and the arts in Georgia, those having received wide recognition both within the country and abroad.

The change in the relationships of basic branches of the material production sphere in total output, as shown above in the example of Georgia, is typical

of all the union republics, and especially of those which had in the past lagged appreciably behind the central regions of Russia in an economic sense. It is precisely the path of industrialization and its higher rates in the lagging regions which have played the decisive role in equalizing the economic levels of the union republics and different regions. In the 1913-1940 period, USSR industry gross output increased 7.7-fold, while the increase was 10-fold in Georgia, 9.9-fold in Kirgizia, 8.8-fold in Tadzhikistan, 8.7-fold in Armenia, and so on.

As society has developed and the proportion of industry in the national economy has increased, the difference in the rates of growth of its gross product in the different regions has become smaller and smaller. Whereas in 1913-1940 the maximum difference by which the indicated republic indicator exceeded the union-wide indicator was 2.3 points and the maximum lag was 3.0 points, in the 1940-1960 period these figures were 2.7 and 2.4 points, respectively, and industry in the Baltic republics developed appreciably faster than the union-wide indicator during that period. This resulted naturally from the fact that they only took up the road to building socialism in 1940. Under present conditions, now that developed socialist society has been built in our country, the difference in the rates of development of union republic industry has decreased sharply. Thus, in 1960-1970, it exceeded the union-wide indicator by 0.8 point and lagged by 0.4 point, but in 1970-1976 these figures were 0.25 and 0.07 point, respectively. Thus, the difference in rates of industrial development for the union republics and for the country as a whole has nearly disappeared; it remains at very nearly a "natural" level, that is, close to that which will in principle always exist, reflecting the specific tasks of developing specific regions in specific periods.

Under present conditions, when the material and technical base typical of the stage of developed socialism has been created in all union republics and when the economy in all union republics is being developed on the material and technical base inherent strictly to socialism, the qualitative aspect of economic development, its efficiency, has moved to the fore.

In the process of equalizing economic levels, substantial structural changes have occurred and are occurring both in the country as a whole and in each union republic and large economic region. Progressive branches which definitely influence scientific and technical progress are being developed more quickly. It is with precisely this point of view that the national economy of each union republic is being improved, on the basis of nationwide and its own interests, the structure of the aggregate social product and of national income generation.

Due to the specifics of republic economies, the branch structure of the aggregate social product and national income in them is dissimilar. It reflects features of the union-wide division of labor, specialization of the particular union republic or large economic region in industrial and agricultural development. One of the most important aspects of the transformation of the USSR into a unified national economic complex is expressed in

this. Together with this, in each union republic the proportion of industrial output, both in the aggregate social product and in national income, exceeds the proportion of all other branches of the material production sphere. Each union republic has developed its own unified complex of the national economy as part of the unified USSR national economic complex.

The specificity of the industrial development of each union republic, which influences the structure of its economy, can be judged first of all by the ratio of industrial group "A" to group "B." Data on changes in this ratio over the 1965-1975 period are given in the table.

Ratio of Growth Rates of All Industrial Output, Production of Means of Production (Group "A") and Production of Objects of Consumption (Group "B"), by Union Republic (1965 = 1)*

union republics	1970			1975		
	all manu- factured output	group "A"	group "B"	all manu- factured output	group "A"	group "B"
USSR	1.50	1.51	1.50	2.15	2.20	2.05
RSFSR	1.49	1.50	1.45	2.11	2.18	1.94
Ukrainian SSR	1.50	1.48	1.55	2.12	2.14	2.07
Belorussian SSR	1.79	1.84	1.72	2.94	3.20	2.56
Uzbek SSR	1.36	1.34	1.42	2.04	2.03	2.10
Kazakh SSR	1.56	1.55	1.59	2.22	2.24	2.17
Georgian SSR	1.53	1.50	1.58	2.12	2.10	2.16
Azerbaijan SSR	1.37	1.33	1.49	2.06	1.98	2.25
Lithuanian SSR	1.74	1.83	1.64	2.59	2.84	2.30
Moldavian SSR	1.57	1.53	1.61	2.43	2.65	2.19
Latvian SSR	1.57	1.68	1.46	2.14	2.42	1.87
Kirgiz SSR	1.84	2.05	1.51	2.80	3.21	2.15
Tadzhik SSR	1.50	1.39	1.76	2.08	1.90	2.34
Armenian SSR	1.72	1.68	1.83	2.49	2.42	2.67
Turkmen SSR	1.50	1.51	1.43	2.31	2.40	1.99
Estonian SSR	1.51	1.51	1.51	2.12	2.21	2.00

*Source: "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1975 g." [USSR National Economy in 1975], Moscow, 1976, pp 200-202.

Equalization of the economic levels of development of the union republics thus does not signify a leveling of their economies. The objective natural law of comprehensive development of the national economy of the union republics is inherent to socialism. It relies on socialist, social division of labor and the even development of the productive forces of the union republics and large economic regions, which is implemented with consideration of their historical, national, natural-climatic and other features in the overall interests of developing the economy of the country as a whole and of each union republic and each economic and administrative region. The operation and systematic, planned use of this natural law provides a solid

scientific basis for long-term forecasts of socioeconomic progress in regional terms. Such forecasts are linked in considerable measure to the natural establishment and maintenance of optimum regional proportions, not only at the level of large economic regions and union republics, but also within the framework of these territories, between their administrative-territorial subdivisions. In this connection, generalizing indicators describing the level of economic development both of the region as a whole and of the administrative-territorial subdivisions comprising it are of great interest. Such generalizing indicators are proportion of the country's aggregate social product and national income produced (in the republic or economic region), as well as relationship to union-average (republic or economic region-average) indicators of per-capita national income produced.

In the administrative-territorial subdivisions comprising individual economic regions, these indicators are even more differentiated than among union republics and economic regions. Therefore, the corresponding economic indicator for an administrative-territorial subdivision is compared not only with the analogous republic-average (economic region-average) indicator, but also with the region-average indicator for the economic region. This provides an opportunity for revealing more thoroughly the size and reasons for the differentiation and for eliminating disproportions noted.

One real condition for equalizing the levels of economic development of small regions is outstripping rates of economic development of those of them in which a lag is noted. However, this equalization, while reflecting the specifics and traditions of a small region, must be combined organically with the comprehensive development of the economy of the large region or union republic, with the formation of territorial-production complexes and agro-industrial complexes, with the more efficient use of natural and labor resources, and with better environmental protection. Equalizing the economic levels of small regions must be done while improving the intrarepublic territorial division of labor and must express a unity of statewide and regional socioeconomic interests.

With the victory of the socialist economic system, there was a transition from actual economic inequality to actual economic equality. A material and technical base adequate to a developed socialist economy has now been created in all union republics, socialist production relations hold undivided dominion, and the economic basis for the future communist society is gradually being shaped. National income is distributed in accordance with the laws of socialist expanded reproduction. Both individual, partial economic indicators calculated per capita and the important generalizing indicator of average per-capita national income production and consumption, which is outstripping the level of economic development, have been considerably equalized. At the stage of developed socialism, the economies of all the union republics are highly developed and dynamic.

We can cite Georgia as an example in this connection. At the stage of developed socialist society, it has been transformed into a multibranched

industrial republic with a highly developed, multifaceted agriculture. The level of concentration and of intrabranh and interbranch production centralization has risen significantly. As a result, qualitative economic indicators have improved substantially. Thus, in 1971-1975, about 99 percent of the total increment in republic national income was obtained through the increased productivity of social labor. This ensured saving a great deal of labor (of 523,000 persons). The industrial, agricultural and other enterprises being created in the sphere of material production are being provided with the latest equipment, and existing enterprises are being renovated. Such branches of industry as electrical engineering, machine and tool making, chemical and power engineering are being developed at outstripping rates. A promising new branch of industry, petroleum, has arisen in the republic. An intensive process of improving the distribution of industrial and agricultural production is underway, in particular, by creating branches of existing large plants in mountain and foothill regions. The considerable development of the material and nonproduction spheres is being combined organically and reinforced by scientific and engineering progress.

The dynamism of the developed socialist economy is the dynamism of an economy which has overcome the inequality of different regions and which has eliminated the very possibility of such inequality.

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REGIONAL

INTEGRATED SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL ASIA, SIBERIA DISCUSSED

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[Article by M. Abdusalyamov, candidate of economic sciences: "Issues of Interregional Cooperation and Integration of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Siberia"]

[Text] The 25th CPSU Congress worked out the fundamental guidelines for the accelerated development of natural resources and the growth of economic potential in the eastern regions of the country. The following targets were set for the period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan: a 1.5-fold increase shall be achieved in the volume of industrial production in these regions; the entire increase planned for 1976-1980 in the yield of petroleum and gas and the production of aluminum shall be provided by these regions; they shall also provide more than 90 percent of the increase in coal mining and approximately 80 percent of the increase in copper production, as well as 45 percent of the cellulose and about 60 percent of the cardboard production increases.

The rapid rate of economic development in the eastern regions is the result of the objective need for the utilization of their enormous natural resources and potential in the interests of the entire country. These regions have nearly 90 percent of the nation's total fuel and energy resources, about 80 percent of the forests, more than half of the predicted reserves of non-ferrous metal ores and of chemical and aluminum raw materials, a significant portion of the iron ore reserves, and the bulk of the raw materials for light industry, etc. National production on the necessary scale cannot be achieved without putting these resources into economic circulation.

At the same time the successful realization of the targets for the development of natural resources in the eastern regions is beginning to depend to an ever greater degree on the rational division of labor among these regions. It is becoming essential to have not only a differentiated approach to the problems of developing each region, but also improvements in their economic ties and a program for implementing close cooperation in production and integration primarily in Siberia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

These problems are of particular interest to Central Asia. In recent years this region's links with the other above-mentioned regions have developed in the following manner: Siberia supplies Central Asia with forestry products, ferrous metals, coal, petroleum and petroleum products, machine tools, products of the chemical, light and food industries, instruments, electronics, various engines, road and construction equipment, etc. And in turn, Central Asia ships to Siberia cotton, vegetable oil, grapes, vegetables and melons, fruit, canned fruit and vegetables, wine and viticulture materials, chemical industry products, petroleum products, various types of equipment, instruments, forge-and-pressing machines, cable products, equipment and vehicles for road work (scrapers, excavators, etc.).

However, the shipments from Siberia to Central Asia are dominated by large, heavy loads, while it is mainly lightweight cargo (which may also be expensive) which moves in the other direction. For this reason the railway transport balance for 1975, to take an example, showed a cargo exchange ratio between Siberia and Central Asia (in tonnage) of 6:1. (In 1966 the ratio was 5:1.) This first figure includes a ratio of 4.4:1 with Western Siberia and 9.3:1 for Eastern Siberia. It goes without saying that the further expansion of the economic ties between these two regions will be accompanied by growth in the volumes of reciprocal deliveries. However, the freight exchange balance between Central Asia and Siberia is likely to remain in favor of the Central Asian republics due to the sharp differences which will remain in the structure of the goods being exchanged.

Central Asia also has extremely close economic ties with Kazakhstan. These ties have deep roots and result from the entire course of the historical development of the fraternal peoples who inhabit these regions. Kazakhstan leads all other economic regions of the country in terms of freight turnover with the republics of Central Asia. At present Kazakhstan takes more than 38 percent of the total volume of freight which is shipped from Central Asia, and it supplies more than 41 percent of what goes into Central Asia. Kazakhstan supplies Central Asia with the bulk of the coal and chemical fertilizers which come from other regions of the USSR; it is also responsible for a significant fraction of the ferrous metals, petroleum products and machine building output, as well as a substantial amount of the wheat, meat and meat products. The Central Asian republics ship to Kazakhstan products of non-ferrous and ferrous metallurgy, machine building and the chemical industry, and they transmit to Kazakhstan a significant portion of their electrical energy. The republics of Central Asia supply Kazakhstan with large amounts of cotton fiber, as well as fruits and vegetables, vegetable oil, etc.

It is natural that the economic ties among Siberia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan will be still further developed and improved in the future in accordance with national economic targets. At the same time these ties, which are based on the practical need to exchange goods which reflect economic specialization, will exert an enormous influence on

the economy of each of these regions, but they will not lead to profound qualitative changes in the structures of their economies because they do not adequately taken into account the opportunities which exist for close cooperation.

A better way to develop the productive forces of these regions must be determined primarily by the interests which our entire nation has in the comprehensive development of these natural resources and in the expansion of the economic potential which exists here. For it is in these regions that the solutions will be found to the problems of realizing the major comprehensive programs of inter-sectorial and inter-regional significance, programs which go beyond the limits of our current century, and which require enormous resources. To a significant degree this determines the basic trends in the development of the region's economy. The following may be included in these trends: the establishment of national fuel and energy bases; the formation of ferrous metallurgy and machine building bases; the development of the USSR's largest energy-intensive production units of the chemical and petrochemical industries and of non-ferrous metallurgy; the establishment of another food-producing area for the nation; and the diversion of some of the Siberian river flow into the basin of the Aral Sea.

Each of these problems requires for its realization the territory and resources of practically all of the eastern regions; for this reason it makes sense to examine them as a single object for planning and prediction and for the development of comprehensive programs. This kind of approach, while expanding the horizons for planning and aiming the plans at economic end results, will make it possible not only to solve in a comprehensive manner the complex problems of economic and scientific-technical cooperation among these regions but also to ensure temporal coordination in accordance with common interests and plans for the development of the nation's economy.

The soundness of this approach also derives from the fact that the present intensive growth in the economic potential of the eastern regions offers the most favorable opportunities to carry out here major economic programs and to conduct economic and technical experiments through the effective redistribution of capital investments in the various economic sectors and territories and through special purpose inter-sectorial and regional programs.

The inadequate level of development in the productive forces of the eastern regions and the differences in these forces as they exist in each of the regions also dictate the need for close cooperation in solving complex economic tasks and in coordinating long-range plans.

All of these questions are exceptionally timely for the republics of Central Asia, and for Uzbekistan in particular, because the situations which are developing in regard to supplies of certain types of natural

resources, as well as demographic and economic conditions puts these republics in a special position in the system of the eastern regions. It is important for Central Asia to have a comprehensive approach to the solution of water-supply and fuel-and-energy-supply problems, as well as the problem of how to make rational use of labor resources, inasmuch as these problems determine in the greatest measure the future trends in Central Asia's socio-economic development. We shall examine the main premises of the most important of these for Central Asia.

Partial Diversion of Water from the Siberian Rivers into the Basin of the Aral Sea. In the economic literature and in scientific studies sufficient attention has been devoted to this problem, which is complex and grandiose in scale and which has no equal among similar problems which are being solved at the present time. It is worth focussing only on certain aspects of the problem.

It has already been shown that without diverting some of the water from Siberian rivers into the basin of the Aral Sea there will be no possibility of accelerated development for the economy of Central Asia in the near future. The effective utilization of agricultural lands in a significant portion of Siberia and Kazakhstan also depends very closely on the implementation of this program. At the present time the shortfalls of agricultural products in bad years are reaching significant amount in those regions of Kazakhstan which are most subject to drought and in the Kulundinskaya and Barabinskaya steppes.

Diversion of Siberian water will make it possible to use more effectively the irrigation area and to develop about 20 million more hectares in Central Asia and Siberia; it will also solve a global problem by creating a major new food-producing area in the nation's East. The southern part of Western Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia (Uzbekistan) have the most favorable conditions for the siting of grain farms in comparison with all the possible zones for growing these crops. The water of Siberia will ensure a sharp increase in the production of cotton, which will be grown on a scale to completely satisfy the nation's needs; with this water there will be in this area another source of an enormous amount of high-quality wheat, as well as one of the world's largest bases for the production of grain.

The realization of the plan to divert the waters of Siberian rivers is also related to the construction of a new water-transportation artery, which will use a system of deep-water canals to connect the Ob' and the Irtysh with the Syr Dar'ya and the Amu Dar'ya; this artery will carry a significant amount of the freight moved between Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

A final result of the diversion of Siberian rivers will be the organization of a major new meridional zone for economic development in

the Asian USSR and the emergence of major new industrial centers here. This will lead to substantial changes in the industrial structure of the economy in the Eastern regions; it will provide a powerful new stimulus to the productive forces of the nation, and it will increase the role of the USSR in the world economy,

The Utilization of Labor Resources. With the exception of Central Asia, all the eastern regions of the Soviet Union have a growing shortage of labor resources, which will continue in the foreseeable future. In the next decade the Central Asian republics, according to calculations made by the Council for the Study of Productive Forces (CSPF) of USSR Gosplan, will provide nearly two-thirds of the increase in the able-bodied population of the country, and this requires that an appropriate demographic policy be carried out here and that forms for the siting of productive forces be selected. In Central Asia, as in no other economic region of the USSR, the rational utilization of labor resources at the present and in the future is acquiring extreme urgency.

From the viewpoint of long-range strategy the rapid growth of population in the Central Asian republics should be viewed as a most valuable national reserve for the future socioeconomic development of the country and primarily of its eastern regions. However, as a result of the low rate of migratory mobility of the Central Asian population it cannot be expected that there will be any substantial participation in the near future by its labor resources in the public production of Siberia and Kazakhstan.

Under these conditions it is becoming possible and advisable--given the necessary organization of vocational training for personnel--to call for siting in Central Asia (mainly in Uzbekistan) a number of major production units which are labor intensive; this may involve shifting the base of material resources from other regions. In this regard it is important to have broad utilization of the various forms of production cooperation in the Eastern regions, especially between Siberia and Central Asia, in various industries; with this cooperation a significant portion of the labor load in bringing raw materials and intermediate products into the processes for manufacturing end products will also be shifted to the Central Asian republics. And in turn this would make it possible to make more rational use of the labor resources of Siberia and Kazakhstan in those sectors of the national economy in which regional conditions are favorable to development and which produce goods which the nation most needs.

The Utilization of Fuel and Energy Resources. It is now clear that the future growth of our nation's economic potential will be largely determined by the rate and direction of the development experienced by the various sectors of the fuel and energy complex of the Eastern regions, especially in Siberia and Kazakhstan. Although Central Asia is relatively well supplied with fuel and energy resources, the reserves of these resources are vastly inferior to those of other eastern regions. The Central Asian republics, especially Uzbekistan, will experience shortages of these

resources in the near future; this means, on the one hand, that it is necessary to limit the siting of energy-intensive production units here and, on the other hand, that it is important to look for additional sources which can be obtained by increasing the consumption of local natural gas and petroleum and by bringing in from other regions, mainly from Siberia and Kazakhstan, various forms of fuel and energy to replace them. In this regard the following are of particular interest to Central Asia: the development of enormous reserves of natural gas and petroleum in Western Siberia, and the coal of the Kuznetsk Basin, the formation and development of the Kansk-Achinskiy and Ekibastuzskiy fuel and energy complexes; increases in coal mining in the Karaganda Basin, and the growth of petroleum refining and the production of electrical energy in Kazakhstan.

The further development of the fuel and energy economies of Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia and the utilization of the resources of these regions to ensure that national programs are met constitute interrelated tasks. For this reason it is advisable to examine them within the framework of a single complex established for the entire region; this will make it possible for these regions to solve as well the problems of how to most effectively develop reciprocal fuel and energy balances. The plans to begin supplying Central Asia in the near future with Western Siberian oil by means of the Omsk-Pavlodar-Chimkent-Chardzhou oil pipeline should be considered one of the first steps in this direction.

Ferrous Metallurgy. It has entered a new phase of its development--the transition from an orientation towards a qualitative increase in production to working to improve the qualitative characteristics of the metal products which are being turned out; this has been accompanied by a profound restructuring of the entire industry. This tendency was manifested with particular clarity in the preceding five-year plan; it has been increasing in the Tenth Five-Year Plan, and it will undoubtedly continue in the future.

At the same time increasing the effectiveness of ferrous metallurgy in our country requires the solution of a number of questions of territorial organization and location of the enterprises of this industry, especially in the eastern regions, and the coordination of these problems with the targets for the development of their economies. The problem is that in these regions the consumption of ferrous metals is currently much greater than production, and this trend is growing. The third and fourth national metallurgical bases, which are being formed in Siberia and Kazakhstan, and which are supposed to supply most of the remaining needs of the eastern regions for ferrous metals, have still not been completed, although these regions have the best conditions in the country for this.

In Central Asia, where prospects for the development of ferrous metallurgy are quite limited, the situation is different. At the present time an electro-metallurgical complex is being built as part of the Uzbek Metallurgical Combine. This will make it possible to increase the republic's steel production by nearly 3-fold in comparison with the present level. In order to expand electrical steel smelting in Central Asia the CSPF of Gosplan USSR and the CSPF of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences have proposed the construction here of two small plants which would produce high-quality steel from local scrap metal. However, the implementation of this proposal will still not solve the problem of how to meet Central Asia's need for ferrous metals through the use of internal resources.

For this reason it is important--when solving the problem of the further development of ferrous metallurgy in Siberia and Kazakhstan--to take into consideration the interests of Central Asia, and to carry out interregional specialization and production cooperation within this industry from a united regional perspective. In particular, it is advisable to pose the question of expanding the production of ferrous metal rolled products in the Central Asian republics; this would depend not only on internal resources but also on external resources (such as steel brought in from Kazakhstan, Siberia and possibly the Kursk magnetic anomaly in the form of slabs and bars). As the water and energy problems are solved, there is the future possibility of siting in Central Asia a major metallurgical plant based on the utilization of metallized pellets (with a metal content of more than 70 percent) which can be brought in from the regions of the Kursk magnetic anomaly and Kazakhstan.

However, consideration should be given to the extreme complexity involved in the establishment of ferrous metallurgy industries, to their high capital-intensiveness and their enormous influence on the economy of the regions where they are located, an influence which is exerted over an extended period of time. For this reason the projected development of ferrous metallurgy, more than the development of any other sector of the national economy, must be based first of all on national interests and demands, and it must be worked out with careful consideration for the prospects before it in other regions of the country. However, under any circumstances the establishment of a stable and large-scale base to supply Central Asia with ferrous metals would be a powerful stimulus for the construction here of a major national center for machine building and metal working and for an increase in the output of various rolled products, hardware and pipes, the production volumes of which are still low at the present time. Also, the variety of goods shows inadequate consideration for regional demands.

The Petrochemical Industry. In the economic relations of the eastern regions, and primarily of Siberia and Central Asia, opportunities for cooperation in the area of petrochemistry have a particularly important

role. It should be said that Siberia now has a sufficiently powerful base for the petrochemical industry and in the future it will become one of the major petrochemical centers in the USSR. The output of this sector has not only national significance: a large amount of the output is supplied as well to the world market.

Central Asia has at its disposal significant resources of hydrocarbon raw materials, and this creates favorable conditions for the development here of a number of petrochemical production units such as plants to produce synthetic resins and artificial fibers, plastics, rubber, etc. However, this process is moderated and in the future will be limited by a shortage of water and electrical energy resources, as well as by a lack of free land areas which are essential for siting the appropriate enterprises.

Before the problem of diverting part of the Siberian river flow is solved, the petrochemical industry of Central Asia could be oriented to a certain degree toward the processing of the most energy-intensive and water-intensive intermediate products--obtained from Siberia--into end products. And, in turn, this form of cooperation would make it possible to develop at an accelerated rate a complex of production units for the electrotechnical and construction industries, as well as to increase the output of machine parts, thermal insulation and finishing materials, sanitary engineering equipment and consumer goods.

In a similar way the problem of production cooperation with Siberia in the development of the woodworking industry is of great interest to Central Asia. At the present time the nation's largest forest industry complexes are being established in Siberia; they will process up to 15 m³ of wood per year or more. It is planned to send a significant fraction of the output to Central Asia. Under these conditions it is advisable to have a form of production cooperation among these regions which calls for the republics of Central Asia to be supplied mostly with intermediate products which require relatively small amounts of labor. The most labor-intensive operations, which involve bringing products to the final consumption stage (carpentry items, furniture, etc.), could be better established at large-scale specialized assembly and finishing enterprises in the Central Asian republics.

This kind of interregional cooperation would predetermine a deeper orientation on the part of the forest industry complexes of Siberia towards the satisfaction of Central Asia's needs for specific products, and it would contribute to an increase in the effective utilization of forest resources and the processing of waste products. The latter would create the conditions for the establishment in Central Asia of a major center for the woodworking industry; the center would be based on the production and technological cooperation with the forest industry complexes of Siberia, and it would have interregional significance.

The Production of Consumer Goods. In terms of the various resources needed to expand production of goods for which there is large-scale demand the eastern regions are in a favorable position. However, in terms of opportunities for the realization of these resources the regions differ from each other substantially. In particular, Central Asia is in the best position to increase the output of consumer goods; moreover, it can supply many of these goods to other regions of the country. For this reason it is now important to clearly determine which zones have the supplies and which have the steady consumers for these products.

It is expected that the demand of the Eastern regions for cotton cloth will total nearly 3.5 billion linear meters. Central Asia has good conditions for increasing the production of this cloth. The output in Central Asia may be brought to 1.5-2 billion linear meters (as opposed to 423 million in 1975), of which 450-600 million may be supplied to other regions of the country, including Siberia. A clear orientation of this kind will make it possible to significantly reduce transport expenses. For example, the cost of transporting one ton of textiles from Ivanovo to Novosibirsk is 1.5-fold higher than the cost of bringing it from Tashkent.

Central Asia may also become for Siberia a major supplier of the most labor intensive knitted goods and other items of clothing, as well as refrigerators, washing machines and other household equipment.

Within the framework of production and technological cooperation between the two regions, Siberia, as we have already noted, could supply Central Asia with semi-finished furniture for subsequent assembly and finishing at major specialized furniture assembly and finishing enterprises. There is no doubt that this option would be beneficial. The production of semi-finished furniture is not labor-intensive; it is carried out at highly mechanized enterprises and the output can be easily transported. Shipping the intermediate product costs 8-10 times less than delivering the wood or the finished furniture.

The economic ties between the two regions may find the fullest form of their expression in reciprocal deliveries of agricultural products, in the establishment of a distinctive "green bridge" between Central Asia and Siberia.

Due to natural conditions the demands of the Siberian population for melons, grapes and other fruits, as well as much of the demand for vegetables, must be satisfied by other regions. Calculations show that by late 1980 it will be necessary to bring in up to 1.1 million tons of vegetables and melons, up to 1.6 million tons of grapes, fruits and berries, and by the end of the following decade it will be necessary to bring in 1.5 million tons and 2.6 million tons respectively.

In the meantime Central Asia does not contribute a large proportion of the fresh fruit and vegetable supplies which Siberia receives. However, the Central Asian republics must remain the nation's major producers of cotton, but they must also become the most significant base for the production of vegetables, melons, berries and other fruits in the East and the major supplier for the various parts of Siberia.

In turn Siberia can become a major supplier of its products to Central Asia. Calculations show that in the near future it will be in a position to meet all of Central Asia's demands for milk products, potatoes, and most of its demand for grain fodder. Siberia has immeasurably greater opportunities for this than does Central Asia. Deliveries of meat and meat products can grow substantially, as can deliveries of the "gifts" of the taiga--mushrooms and various forest fruits.

In order to resolve all these issues it is necessary to link more closely the prospects for the development of production and for consumption of food products in both regions. Specifically, this will make it possible to utilize more effectively the advantages of the agroindustrial complexes which are being established in both areas. We have in mind the expansion of the "green bridge" as a result of the implementation of a comprehensive special-purpose program to integrate development (the "green bridge" can function to an equal degree in both directions--with approximately 2 million tons of products per year). This program could serve as the foundation for the transition to the next stage--the development and realization of a comprehensive, special-purpose program to establish a single food base for the eastern regions of the country.

The problems which have been examined here constitute only a part of the broad range of issues in the long-range planning and prediction process for the development of the economy in these regions. However, it is clear that our interest in increasing the effective utilization of their resources makes it necessary to have close coordination in the process of formulating plans for the accelerated growth of the production forces here; this coordination would be based on principles of economic integration and would arise from the general strategy for increasing the economic potential of the nation's eastern regions.

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REGIONAL

KURD PLEASED WITH LIFE IN TBILISI

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 Aug 79 p 3

[Article by A. Bagirov, fitter and repair worker at Tbilisi Reinforced Concrete Plant No 1, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of Georgian SSR: "The Home in Which I Live"]

[Text] This home is a very large and bright one. Its stories rise high into the air. It runs up hills and drops down to wide avenues. It is still under construction, each year its limits are expanded, and it becomes even more beautiful and better. And a million people live in it--my friends and neighbors. They speak various languages but each one understands the others excellently because everyone has mastered the language of friendship which we attained in childhood. This home is called Tbilisi--my native city. I grew up with it and it grew up with me.

This is a beautiful and fine city where people have lived from time immemorial, where close-knit multinational families now live and where not only the doors of the houses but also the hearts of the inhabitants have always been open for their fellow-man. I remember my childhood. We lived only a short distance from the railroad station on Gogol Street. It was the conventional Tbilisi homestead with open balconies extending the entire length of the house. In it lived Georgians, Russians, Armenians, Azerbaydzhanians, and we Kurds. My father and our neighbor, Iosif Sikharulidze, worked at the railway station as porters. Every morning they left together and later they returned home together. They were tired but they were always ready to help others and to cheer them up. I remember that the Kalashyan family was beset by trouble so both Iosif and my father tried to do everything possible to ease their situation. I am proud of them--Iosif and my father--a Communist since 1925.

He told me often--the main thing, Aziz, is to love your land, your home. And our home is Tbilisi. It is a special city. A city of friendship. Look, son, we are Kurds and we speak our own language. But we also know the Georgian language and we love it. It is the language of our friends and brothers, who have given their blood for our people and have taken them into their family. Throughout my life I have remembered the words of my father. And today when

I think about them and reflect on them, I am even more profoundly imbued with their simple wisdom. And indeed you meet just about everyone in Tbilisi. People of various nationalities live in our city. They live as one united family and they pursue one common task--they create tomorrow and they build new stories on their home to make it brighter and better. At times the thought strikes me that the people of Tbilisi are more than just inhabitants of the city. They are a special nationality of people who, along with their mothers' milk, absorbed a feeling of love and respect for all peoples. Being a Tbilisi inhabitant means above all being an internationalist, a person of great and generous heart. He stands at his machine, drives his vehicle, works in the research laboratory, and writes poetry. It is a many-sided entity, my Tbilisi, and it may be that in this lies its special magnetic strength.

In 1941 my father, as always, stepped over the threshold of the house but not to go to work but to the great war. We--my mother, brother, sister and I--stayed together. The time was difficult and stressful. But the household continued to live--it labored and it shared the meager reserves of corn flour. At the age of 12 I went to work--I had to help the family and help the young ones get on their feet. And in 1945 I enrolled in the railroad school.

This year was especially memorable for me. Peace came to the land but to me there came the happiness of becoming involved in genuine labor. At the school I made friends with Nodar Ambokadze. From that time on we traveled the same road for many years. We worked together for 17 years in the Tbilisi railroad car depot. We were always together and to the last we shared all our troubles and overcame them together. Once it was urgently necessary to repair a compressor. We did not find the cause of the breakdown right away. We were all day at it and we did not notice that the evening had also set in and we had only finished half the job. We decided, Nodar and I, to work all night. We lined the bearings and scraped them. We finished at dawn.

We left the depot; the city had just awakened. Our native Tbilisi began a new working day. And we went on our way, pleased with the work done. And it was then I understood with all my heart how great was the happiness in the land, the happiness of labor, the happiness of a duty completely fulfilled.

I am now working at Tbilisi Reinforced Concrete Plant No 1. I work as a fitter. I am at the sixth grade. I am proud of the fact that this is a very high grade. I know my job and I have acquired a working mastery the origins of which go back to the time when I was still a young man. I am proud of the fact that my father carried luggage and his son has become a skilled worker.

I have a great love for my collective. Our plant is a harmonious multinational family. My friends--lathe operators Zhora Oganezov and Genadiy Borodin and Sandro Lashkhi--are fitter mechanics in the concrete unit. And the brigade I work in is also international. There are Georgians Guram Dolidze, Anzor Rukhadze and Sergo Mamulashvili, Ossetian Sokrat Dudayev and I a Kurd, Aziz Bagirov. At first glance our work seems minor but it is complicated and

critical. We do not produce items marked by the state Badge of Quality but for us the superior quality of the work is the chief thing. We have been tasked with the duty of eliminating emergency situations rapidly and on schedule; we perform capital repair of assemblies, mixers, bridge cranes and other equipment and current repair of mechanisms so that the concrete workers will not find themselves in a work stoppage situation. Thus, the work rhythm of the entire collective depends largely on us. We do important work and the end result of our labor is the new homes which are rising on the land of our native Tbilisi.

I am a Communist. I joined the party in 1959. It is a great responsibility to be a member of the Leninist party and to be a leader for the young people. And it seems to me that the chief law for the communist is to be the first one there when the situation is difficult. This is essential for me, my friends and the home in which we live--our Tbilisi. We want our city to be a model city. This is precisely what we have been struggling for since the 37th City Party Conference. I am pleased when new gardens adorn the city. I believe that every Tbilisi inhabitant has an obligation to plant his own tree. They grow and their leaves rustle in our common garden of friendship.

A great event transpired in my life several years ago. The people conferred an enormous trust on me and elected me a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of Georgian SSR. This was a genuine manifestation of internationalism, possible only in our country. I am a representative of the small Kurd population, a worker member of the lofty organ of power of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. It is an honor my grandfather could not even dream about. As a deputy I work on the commission for culture and this is a great honor for me. I was assigned to the construction of a motion picture theater in Gldani and now a new theater is under construction in this area. When I visit Gldani, this whole district seems to me an enormous construction staging area. And you see with your own eyes how our native Tbilisi has grown.

Again and again I have been moved emotionally by the recollection of the meeting of the republic party aktiv which discussed the CC CPSU decree on "Further Improvement of the Ideological Political Education Work." In his report at the meeting candidate for membership on the CC CPSU Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze quoted lines from the letter which was sent to the CC by the representatives of the Kurd population. It was with deep emotion that I listened to them and I thought about the genuineness of the paternal solicitude shown us, the Kurds, by the CC of the Communist Party of Georgia. I heard about the new, well-planned apartments which are made available every year and I recalled our new home on Zestafoni Street. I heard about the allocation of special financing to the educational institutions and I remembered my niece, Dodo--the music teacher. I heard about the development of Kurd culture and I remembered my friends--the poet Aziz Sloyev, the orientalist scholar Kerim Antosi, and many others. They live and work in our communal home--in Tbilisi. It gifted them with knowledge, placed them on the road to a new life, and surrounded them with care and attention.

I will not hold anything back: I am especially proud of the fact that I was a member of the commission which prepared the Georgian SSR Constitution and I participated in the work of the editorial commission. In collaboration with the representatives of other nationalities we compiled the basic law of Soviet Georgia and took it into the heart of Georgia--its capital, our native Tbilisi. This is our common home--large and bright. And it is with a special kind of love that I will always utter the words "my Tbilisi, my native city." The city which has given me a multitude of friends and which, as it has with scores of thousands of people of various nationalities, has endowed me with the warmth of its generous heart.

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REGIONAL

LAMAISM IN BURYATSKAYA ASSR DISCUSSED

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 5, 1979 pp 15-18

[Article by K. Gerasimova, candidate of historical sciences, Ulan-Ude: "Devaluation of Dogma: Tradition and Reality in Contemporary Lamaism"]

[Text] A part of the native population of the Buryatskaya ASSR and the Aginskiy national okrug, Chitinskaya oblast, have professed Lamaism since olden times.* Under the influence of the historical processes which formed a new, socialist way of life for the Soviet people, certain changes took place in the consciousness of Buryat believers. This can be seen with special clarity from the results of ethnographic and specific sociological studies which were conducted during the years 1962-1966 and 1972-1976.

The studies confirmed the general regular laws concerning a profound crisis in Lamaism, the irreversible phenomena of the disintegration of the traditional complex of religious consciousness and the behavior of the believers and frequently even, in essence, the disappearance of religious elements in the psychology and behavior of people. But this still does not mean that they have become atheists. Atheism presumes the realized hostility toward religion and active efforts to overcome vestiges of the past. In this case, we are speaking of irreligion--of ignorance of dogma, the language of religious texts, and the religious content of rites, rejection of their celebration, and an indifferent attitude toward articles of worship and toward the future of religion.

The October Revolution found today's 70-year-old Buryats in their youth. This generation experienced the influence of Lamaism to the fullest extent for at least 20 years. Among today's 60-year-olds, the most active period in molding the personality came at the end of the 1920's and the beginning

* Lamaism is one of the forms of Buddhism which arose and developed in the 7th-14th centuries in Tibet and which received some dissemination to the territory of our country among the Mongols, Buryats, Touvinians, and Kalmyks.

of the 1930's, that is, at the time of the acute class struggle. Both the former and the latter were eye-witnesses to the population's mass withdrawal from religion. All or a large part of their conscious life was spent under conditions of the building and the victory of socialism in the USSR.

Analyzing the answers of namely these two age groups, we can draw several conclusions. The norms of religious ethics were subjected to the greatest destruction in the consciousness of these generations. Even those who believe profoundly have a negative attitude toward the classical Buddhist concepts of good and evil, the meaning of life and happiness, and ways of attaining it. The rules of religious ethics have been forgotten in considerable measure if not completely by many. The majority of the believers give a favorable evaluation of their lives despite inevitable personal experiences. One who agrees with Buddhist dogma in accordance with which suffering is an age-long, integral, and the only real essence of life on earth is rare. Only a few recognize believers as carriers of a high morality. Many do not consider the worshiping of Buddha, the lama, or sacrifices to the temples an indicator of man's morality. All this confirms the determining significance of social reality in the molding of moral aims and value orientations. And in this, probably, we find the main result of the influence of Soviet reality on the consciousness of the believers.

As regards the norms of religious ethics, those questioned can be divided into three groups. Believers for whom such concepts of the lamaist ethic as ten black sins and ten white virtues are authoritative and admissible, true, if they do not contradict their general contemporary ideas of happiness and a good life. Nonbelievers for whom these concepts of sin and virtue as norms for religious ethics are unauthoritative and inadmissible. And, finally, the irreligious or vacillating. This group often fails to see the difference between religious and irreligious ethics and frequently introduces an irreligious, Soviet content into the concepts of sin and virtue.

But even this division into groups is not final since the norms of the classical Buddhist ethic have become alien, abstract concepts for the majority of the believers (primarily the elderly) and they are reinterpreting them more and more actively. For the life's experience of these people is linked with the socialist transformations in Buryatia. They experienced much, and it is not from books that they know the meaning of tsarism, class oppression, social and spiritual lack of rights, and the dominance of the datsans* and lamaism.

Further, despite the ignorance and even denial of the specific norms of classical Buddhist and lamaist ethics, nevertheless the majority of the believers in all population groups as well as a certain number of vacillators and nonbelieving citizens, including some with a higher and special secondary education, believe that religion may be useful in the moral upbringing of people. Such obliterated, half-baked ideas are typical of those in whom a materialistic world outlook has not been molded as an integral system of

* Datsan--a lamaist temple, monastery.

scientific concepts and the socialist tenor of life does not give them a personal, clear perception of religious ideology's reactionary role.

Usually, of the 10 lamaist commandments about sins and virtues the believers and nonbelievers remember only those which pertain to the simple norms of human intercourse: to kill immorally, steal, get drunk, cause harm to people by disparaging slander, by lying, and so forth. But these moral norms were not created by religion; they reflect the necessity to regulate human social relations. Religion used these norms to create and protect its authority and propagandized them using parables, proverbs, instructive stories, and fine arts. Therefore, the opinion was also created that religion is concerned with the upbringing of people. What are the goals of this upbringing, what type of person is considered ideal from the religious viewpoint, for whom is such a "good person" convenient? As a rule, people do not ponder over this. But the propagandists of atheism do not devote sufficient attention to a criticism of the religious ethic which could help to understand the incompatibility of the moral ideals of socialism and religion.

The lamaist church assimilated the socio-tribal worship of the spirits of the mountains, rocks, taiga, rivers, lakes, and springs which were revered as the "masters" of a given locality. In deriving its origin from one ancestor, each year the family made a public sacrifice to the family protector. With the passage of time, the ritual gathering at the "obo"* became a rite symbolizing the consolidation not only of the family-tribal community, but also of the territorial community of mixed ethnic groups. Absorbing ancient local cults, the lamaist church included in its sphere the most important rites without changing or almost not changing their religious content.

However, in assimilating the cult of family protectors which could be not only spirits and representatives of the shaman pantheon but also "masters" of a locality, fire, and the home, the lamaist church completely replaced the former object of religious worship, placing lamaist gods in the place of shaman spirits: "srunma" or "sakh'yusans"--defenders of the faith, happiness, and the well-being of the people.

This cult received wide development in lamaist ceremonial rites and on domestic and church levels. A multifunctional system of the very same rite of sacrifice to the gods--the defenders of the faith--was created. In the family ceremonial rite these "srunma" became god-protectors primarily of the family heads. But because of this, they were also considered to be protectors of the remaining family members, being passed on by right of inheritance from father to son. The heads of the families gathered every month for public prayer in honor of the gods--the defenders of the faith.

The basic content of the New-Year public prayer in the datsan was reduced to the ceremonial sacrifice to all primary and secondary gods--the defenders of

* "Obo"--a pile of stones erected on mountain peaks, on passes, in certain places of steppe roads, and at rivers and springs.

the faith. The ceremonial ritual of the tsams--dances of the lamas in masks of the gods--defenders of the faith were conducted in the summertime. They were to ensure the flourishing of religion and the well-being of the believers.

A mandatory part of the rites at the "obo," during the three-day "maani", funeral, wedding, and the majority of economic rites as well as of rites calling for wealth and happiness and ensuring personal well-being were the sacrifices to the gods--the defenders of the faith. The gods who were defenders of the faith also included the personal custodian of a given temple. Thus, lamaism persistently molded in the believers the conviction that their personal and family well-being was connected with the flourishing of the church and that they should zealously perform the religious rites, participate in datsan public worship, read prayers and sacred books, believe in all the religious dogmas, revere the priesthood, and, most important, confirm all this with generous gifts to the priesthood.

The assimilation of former cults permitted the lamaist church to spread its influence to all spheres of life of the popular masses and to utilize the force of century-old traditions.

The lamaist ceremonial rites were preserved in Buryatia almost completely until the beginning of the 1930's. Then "natural selection" began.

Ethnographic and sociological studies showed that many lamaist rites ceased to be employed even if not completely forgotten. The traditional domestic ceremonial rite which continued to function both in lamaized and, to some degree, in prelamaist form proved to be most tenacious. In this regard, now family and general nomad rites were performed most often in the datsan in the form of ordered prayers.

Individual and family rites were excluded from the contemporary way of life of the Buryat nomad village for a number of reasons. Their performance requires the presence in the nomad village of authorized, "legitimate" lamas or "learned elders" who are willing to conduct home worship. It is also necessary to obtain the permission of nonbelieving family members and to take into consideration the opinion of the irreligious environment.

Actually, families are now headed by active production workers with a secondary and higher education, communists, and komсомols. They ensure the material well-being of the family. The aged parents of the heads of families do not want to undermine their public reputation by the conduct of religious ceremonies at home. Therefore, aged family members prefer to order prayers in the datsan.

As a result, someone forms the incorrect impression of the growth of religion among the population since attendance at the datsan is growing and the incomes of the monastery cashboxes are growing. Actually a reduction in

* "Maani"--collective worship whose goal is to ensure the well-being of a given populated place.

domestic religious rituals is taking place. Moreover, at times the datsan is also visited by nonbelievers.

Thus, by themselves facts concerning the visiting of the datsan do not testify to religiousness. But, at the same time it should be noted that now datsan worship plays the main role in satisfying religious requirements.

Among the lamaist rites, visits to the datsan during important festive services and the collective rite of the three-day "maani" which is conducted on the initiative of a family or a group of related families has now been moved forward to first place.

Rituals for the sacrifice to local deities and spirits--"masters" of a locality and lamaist deities--who are protectors of the family and each family member individually remained widespread.

The combination of rites and the replacement of complex rites by others which are simpler and the execution of which does not require the participation of professional clergymen are occurring.

For reasons which have already been mentioned, family and general nomad rites are performed most often in the datsan. Thus, for example, the mandatory annual domestic sacrifice to the deities who are protectors of the family is now performed in the datsan rather than in the home in the form of an individual or public prayer.

It happens that the accomplishment of this rite is timed with the three-day "maani" which is conducted in some home in accordance with the order of a family or a group of relatives. In this regard, as a rule almost all the believers of a given populated place have begun to take part in this rite.

Instead of prayer at home, the hanging out of flags "khi-morin" (images of the enchanting horse of happiness) at local "obos" or in other places of worship is also practiced.

The home sacrifice and "serzhemon" is being replaced by entertaining one's "sakh'yusans" and local spirits who are masters of the "obos" and gods of the lamaist pantheon with tea, milk, and vodka. The ritual is accompanied by a special prayer and may be performed simply by a believer or "learned elder."

The ignorance of religious ideas which are symbolically expressed in various ritual actions is made up by the believers from those religious experts in their midst who can read the lamaist ceremonials which have been written in the Tibetan language. But these experts are becoming fewer and fewer in number. Bookish theological traditions have been lost to a considerable degree among contemporary Buryats.

From the answers to questions about motives for personal participation in rites or the content of those rites which are performed in a given village,

one can judge that the religious content of the majority of the presently existing rites is being reinterpreted and being dislodged by secular content.

Participants in the sacrifices to the "masters" of the locality at the "obo" explain their worship actions by concern for the flourishing of their public and personal farming and the well-being of their families. In some places (for example, in Tunkinskiy rayon) this rite does not belong at all among religious ceremonies and is simply considered a native custom. Basic attention is devoted to entertaining guests, games, and contests.

Now, the overwhelming majority of participants in religious ceremonies have poor knowledge of even the most popular gods in the lamaist pantheon and cannot determine who of them is Buddha, bodhisattva, or dokshit [as transliterated] (the wrathful hypostasis of Buddha or bodhisattva) or explain the meaning of these concepts. The believers are far from always convinced that gods, demons, and spirits have decisive influence on the everyday affairs of people. Many of those who are vacillating between faith and scepticism still have a vague impression of something that somehow influences the fate of a person; therefore, they say, in any case one should observe the old customs and ceremonies in order to ensure the well-being of their families and themselves personally.

Faith in an evil force was preserved to a certain degree in the mountain areas where shaman and preshaman religious beliefs have not yet been forgotten. In the areas of the ancient spread of lamaism it is believed that formerly there were many devils but they are no longer. Experts in Buddhist dogma answer the question of the existence of devils by saying that dark forces are contained in man himself, in his consciousness, wicked thoughts, and deeds.

The loss of the knowledge of dogma leads to a loss of religious motivation for the performance of religious rites and this, in turn, reduces participation in religious ceremonies.

But it should be kept in mind that this process can also proceed in the opposite direction and end with man's return to religion. For a religious ceremony possesses the strength of emotional influence and, to a certain degree, provides an outlet for the requirements for psychological relaxation, consolation, and intercourse. Therefore, when a person begins to perform religious rites more or less regularly for any reasons this, in turn, assists in the creation of the necessary mood for the reproduction of religiousness.

In the queries and filling out of questionnaires, the investigators often received evasive, indeterminate answers in which it was possible to perceive, on the one hand, the striving to conceal an interest in religion and, on the other, disappointment in it as a means for the resolution of vital problems and, thirdly, vacillation between religion and atheism.

If we compare the motives for the accomplishment of domestic rites with ideas of believers concerning conditions for the attainment of human happiness, it turns out that here, too, the believers withdraw from the tenets

of lamaist dogma. The majority of those questioned believe that man's happiness depends upon peace in the entire world, on the efforts and aspirations of man himself, and on good work and correct behavior.

There are many different rites in lamaism to "summon" happiness. Rather popular in the past were such individual rites for ensuring personal well-being as "zhel-oruugla" and "menge".* Now they are leaving the worship practice of even the most religious groups of the population. Half of those believers who remember and know these rites consider them optional or they time them to coincide with the rites at the "obo," "manni," and in the datsan.

Thus, preference is being given more and more to collective rites, especially to those which are connected with ancient everyday traditions. In this regard, their cult content is being reinterpreted and everyday motivation is being intensified and, in this worldly form, they are interpreted as irreligious, national customs. The stability of these rites is maintained by the requirements for customary forms of communion.

An example of this can be provided by the population's attitude toward the lamaist funeral rite. Despite its intensive saturation with religious ideas, and not only lamaist but also prelamaist, the majority of the people consider it to be a national custom. This circumstance cannot be explained by the ignorance of dogmas alone. Even convinced believers have the same attitude toward the funeral rite.

There is a tendency to consider as national customs even such traditional collective rites as the sacrifice at the "obo," the religious wedding, the New-Year celebration, attending festive worship services in the datsan, and monthly composite services in honor of "sakh'yusans."

Even the visiting of the datsan, especially attending the New-Year service, is often perceived as observance of a national custom. Typically, elderly believers arrive at the datsan in national costumes which they no longer wear in their daily life. Many elderly people are attracted to the trip to the datsan by the possibility of meeting acquaintances, talking, and learning the news.

Of the rural population, it is pensioners who travel to the datsan most often. The overwhelming majority of the visitors to the datsan from other socio-production groups of the population are irreligious. They explain their interest in the datsan ceremonial rites by the desire to follow national customs and know their traditional national art. For many, the trip to the datsan is recreation, like visiting a museum or the theater.

* "Zhel-oruugla" and "menge" are personal rites. They are performed to ensure a given person's well-being. The former--once in 12 years and the latter--once in 2 years.

A certain part of the Buryat population perceives religious rites in general as national rites and connects national culture and religion into a single whole. We should not forget the history of Buryatia which shows that nationalism in the past was also closely linked with religion.

Having in mind that vestiges of nationalism still exist in some places, it is necessary to combine atheistic upbringing with international upbringing. Here, it should be remembered that a certain part of national and cultural requirements are satisfied in the religious channel; therefore, atheistic work cannot be limited to the criticism of religious ideology alone.

Efforts which are directed toward the development of a national culture, national types of sport and games, entertainment, amateur talent activities, and the formation of irreligious ceremonial rites should find their place in the system of atheistic upbringing. It is necessary to help people to understand correctly the significance and content of historic forms of national culture: what in them served and is serving religion and what is the product of national creativity.

Atheistic upbringing which is organized in this manner will proceed in unity with the entire system of communist indoctrination and with implementation of the program for the molding of the new man.

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REGIONAL

NEW HISTORY BOOK ON SOVIET POWER IN BALTIC REPUBLICS PUBLISHED

Tallin KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian No 5, May 79 signed to press 7 May 79
pp 64-67

[Review by E. Mattizen, candidate of historical sciences: "A Thorough Work on the Radical Turning Point in the Destiny of the Baltic People"]

[Text] Some time ago a fundamental work on the history of the socialist revolutions of 1940 and the establishment of soviet power in the Baltic republics*, was compiled by a large group of Baltic scholars with whom Moscow historians participated. The book represents joint research conducted by the workers of the historical institutes of the party under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia (branches of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the Central Committee of the CPSU), the historical Institutes of the Academy of Science, as well as scholars from a number of higher educational facilities of the Baltic republics. The editorial board was headed by academician I. I. Mints.

This valuable scholarly publication contains 92 photos on many important revolutionary events and prominent participants of the socialist revolutions of 1940 in the Baltic. It is supplied with a detailed bibliography (894 names), as well as an index of names (877 persons).

At the basis of the work is the truth about the destinies of the Baltic people which were long since established and their close ties with the history of other soviet people. For many years the workers, peasants and representatives of the progressive intelligentsia of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania together with the workers of Russia struggled against czarism, landowners, and the bourgeois. As is noted in the preface, the symbol of the unbreakable unity of these people was the active participation of the Baltic proletariat in three Russian revolutions.

*"Sotsialisticheskiye revolyutsii 1940 g. v Litve, Latvii i Estonii. Vosstanovleniye Sovetskoy vlasti" edited by I. I. Mints (chief editor), A. A. Drizul, Yu. I. Zhyugzhda, V. A. Maamyagi (deputy chief editor), A. K. Pankseyev (deputy chief editor), B. A. Toman, I. A. Shteyman, R. Ya. Sharmaytis (deputy chief editor), A. A. El'vikh (deputy chief editor), Moscow, "Nauka," 1978, 531 pages.

There were a great deal of similarities in domestic and foreign policy conditions, strategy and tactics of struggle for the proletariat of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania during the years of the civil war and foreign war intervention as well as during the period of bourgeois rule. Simultaneously, as it is correctly indicated in the preface, the economic, political and cultural ties which were established between the people of the Baltic and the Soviet Union and the traditions of common revolutionary struggle were the reason why the workers of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the 1940 socialist revolutions together with the demand of establishing Soviet power announced the necessity to have their republics entered into the USSR.

The duty of Soviet Baltic historians is to thoroughly study the history of the common struggle of fraternal nations for the victory and protection of October, to establish Soviet power in the Baltic which was suppressed in 1919 by imperialists and counter revolutionaries, to expose more thoroughly the definite events, the dialectic of general laws and specific features of a socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the Baltic on the whole and in each of its republics.

Now with good reason it can be stated that in this area Soviet historians have attained a great deal. In 1967 the first regional collective monograph was published titled "The Struggle for Soviet Power in the Baltic," which was put into the anniversary series of works on questions of the Great October. The new collective research continues the study of the world historical significance of the Great October Socialists Revolution on the basis of the history of the 1940 revolutions in the Baltic republics.

Of great interest is the introductory and historiographical chapter of the book which reflects the large scale work covering many years which was done by the scholars of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia and only on the basis of which the monograph could be written. Here for the first time on a broad scale and structure a detailed scientific survey is given on the history of the study of the revolutions of 1940 in the Baltic. Moreover, such basic questions are singled out as the preconditions and character of the revolutions, the realization of socialist reforms, and so forth. In the chapter, various opinions are compared, the development of scientific thought on all the most important problems indicated by the revolution are shown, the status of the publications of the sources is reflected, and special criticism of the bourgeois falsifications is rendered.

The monograph contains a critical analysis of all the bourgeois governments' policy, and the class character of their work is revealed. The mask of "Organizers of Prosperity" and "Fighters for Independence" was ripped from the bourgeois politicians. Thus in the second chapter, "The Workers of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania Under Oppression of the Bourgeoisie (1919-1939)" shows that a certain, though not systematic development of the economy, could be achieved only at the expense of a sharply increased exploitation of the proletariat, the destruction and impoverishment of the poorest and to a great extent the middle peasants in the countryside, and a decline in the material well-being of the workers in the city and in the countryside as a whole.

On concrete materials the full dependence of Baltic government policy on the state of the world capitalists market was exposed as were the difficult socio-economic and political consequences of the world economic prices of 1929-1933. In order to strengthen its positions, the bourgeoisie strengthened its influence over the government and monopolistic capital in the economy. Fusing government power with monopolistic capital was reflected also on the political system of government. During the first half of the 1930's, the short bourgeois democracy was replaced by fascist dictatorships in all the Baltic countries.

In a convincing manner the book shows that the widely advertised independent policy of the bourgeois governments was actually leading the nations of the Baltic towards a greater dependency on imperialism in its policy and economy.

Chapter three, "The International Status of the Baltic Governments (1920—Aug 1939)", shows the position of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the anti-soviet plans of world imperialism and the capitalists position of the bourgeoisie of these countries in the face of an expansionist policy of the fascist rule was exposed. The aggressive course of Hitler's Germany in th respect to the Baltic nations threatened the very existence of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian people. Moreover, as the monograph correctly shows, England, by which the governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were guided to a significant extent, not only failed to take steps to prevent German aggression in the Baltic, but, just the opposite, essentially encouraged it. The anti-national and anti-Soviet foreign policy of the Pyats, Ul'manis and Smeton governments increased the danger of imperialist aggression in the Baltic.

The workers of the Baltic nations were more and more convinced that the communists who tirelessly exposed the policy of the bourgeois governments were correct. The working masses saw the Soviet Union as a hopeful stronghold of peace and security for the people and a nation which persistently struggled against the threat of aggression and war, and which protected the interests of the Baltic people. In the book many illustrations are given on how among the wide masses of people in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania a conviction was developing on the necessity to expand and strengthen ties with the Soviet Union. The workers were more and more in favor of collective security against the threat of fascist aggression, of completing the agreements on mutual assistance with the USSR. They united under the banner of an anti-fascist peoples front which was organized and inspired by the communist parties of these countries.

In the monograph a great deal of attention (particularly the 4th, 6th, and 8th chapters) is given to the work of the communist parties of the Baltic nations, their organizational, political, and ideological work, their mutual contact as well as their contact with the Comintern and the Bolshevik Party during the period of the bourgeois dictatorship as well as during the revolution and after its victory.

Before the reader of the monograph is a broad panorama of the communists' selfless struggle for the interest of the people. Under the most difficult

conditions of underground and White terror the communists constantly led the political and economic struggle of the people, they educated them in the spirit of internationalism and socialism. The Baltic communist party conducted a great deal of work on studying and creatively implementing the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the strategy and tactics of class struggle and the historical experience of the Bolshevik Party to the specific conditions of their countries. They educated an entire generation of Lenin-type leaders who were capable of leading the struggle of the masses for social progress and who were capable of combining national and international tasks of revolutionary struggle.

The book thoroughly illuminates the development and practical implementation by the Baltic communist parties of the tactics for creating a single working and anti-fascist people's front on the basis of a skillful combination of legal and illegal forms of struggle. This valuable experience was favorably received even at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 and it is also included in the arsenal of the modern world communist movement.

The refusal of the right leaders of the social democracy to struggle against fascism led to the fact that in the Baltic nations the traditional reformists' social-democratic party essentially eliminated themselves and left the political arena. At the same time, as it is convincingly shown in the monograph, the left socialists grew stronger. They had one way or another joined the single front of the workers. The tactics of the united front played an exceptionally important role in the struggle of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian communist parties for overcoming the influence of reformism and for winning the majority of the working class to its side. The platform of the anti-fascist people's front helped rally the middle class of the city and countryside around the working class and communist party.

The monograph gives a thorough picture of the complex and tremendous work which the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian communist parties conducted with in order to strengthen the union of the working class and peasants. Constantly carrying out their agrarian policy, the Baltic communist parties developed program documents which expressed the interests of the broad peasant masses and promoted the strengthening of their struggle against fascist dictatorship and monopolistic capital.

The authors validly underscore the historical importance of the condition proclaimed by the Baltic communist parties that the call to struggle for democracy does not mean a return to those limited forms of bourgeois democracy which existed in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia until the fascist turnovers.

While calling the people to struggle for fundamental democratic reforms in their countries, the Baltic communist parties also underscored that they did not refuse to struggle for socialism and for establishing soviet power. The appeals of the communist parties to complete agreements on mutual assistance between the Baltic nations and the Soviet Union in order to protect the freedom and national independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in addition to the appeals to struggle for a durable union and close

friendship with the USSR were historically important. The communist party of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania widely explained to the masses the peaceful policy of the USSR and its economic, social and cultural achievements. This promoted the education of the workers in the spirit of solidarity with the socialist nation and a deeper understanding of the role of the Soviet Union in the destiny of the Baltic people.

The materials contained in all the chapters of the book, particularly in chapter five ("The Pressing Revolutionary Crisis in the Baltic Nations After the Beginning of the Second World War"), serve as convincing proof of the fact that the revolutions of 1940 in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were the natural result of favorable domestic and foreign factors but that first of all they were the result of the socio-political and economic development of these nations and the result of an intensification of class contradictions and the bankruptcy of domestic and foreign policies among the leading circles. In the book the analysis given on the economic and political situation in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania after the beginning of World War II attests to the fact that from the autumn of 1939 in the Baltic nations a deep revolutionary crisis was quickly ripening and growing stronger and it was accompanied by the crisis of the fascist ranks. Signs of the revolutionary situation were growing clearer.

In the following chapters (chapter 6—"The Beginning of the Socialists Revolutions. Their Basic Characteristics and Functioning Powers", chapter 7—"The Establishment of the Soviet Power in the Baltic", chapter 8—"The Organizational and Party and Ideological Work of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (Jul 1940-Jun 1941)" and chapter 9—"The First Socialist Reforms") a detailed account and analysis is given on the character, particular features, the driving force, and the strategy and tactics of the Baltic communist parties in the 1940 revolution. In addition the pre-war democratic and socialist reforms in the political, economic, social, ideological and cultural life of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are given.

Moreover it is important to underscore that the authors of the monograph are united in their ideas (now they are generally accepted) and in their evaluations on the most important issues of the character, particular features and the basic question of the revolution--the question of the power at the beginning of the revolution of 1940 which for many years evoked arguments among scholars. In the book it is convincingly proven that the 1940 revolutions in the Baltic countries were by their nature socialist from the very beginning of the June events. It is from this standpoint that one should study the mass demonstrations and workers' meetings, the overthrow of the fascist regimes and the establishment of a people's government (16 Jun in Lithuania headed by the prominent anti-fascist worker Yustas Paletskis, 20 Jun in Latvia headed by the well-known public official Professor August Kirkhenshtey and 21 Jun in Estonia headed by the well-known democratic and public official poet Iokhannes Vares-Barbarus).

The national governments the composition of which was approved in advance by the Central Committee of the Communist Parties of these nations expressed the will of the proletariat and of the working (first of all the poorest)

peasantry as the main driving power of the revolutions. From the very beginning each of these governments put into practice the dictatorship of the proletariat and the policy of the communist party which was directed at developing the socialist revolution, the democratization of government and social life, the destruction of the old bourgeois government machine and the creation of a new ruling apparatus, and the elimination of the bourgeois from all key factors in the government and crushing any resistance to it. At the same time with a singledness of purpose, conditions were prepared for the fundamental socialist reforms in the area of production and the economy as a whole. This revolutionary process is carried out not by a single act but gradually.

Moreover, as the authors indicate, one must bear in mind that in the tactics of the Communist Party of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania of particular significance is the question of combining the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism. During the first weeks after the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, special emphasis was placed on the democratization of the government apparatus, the army, the entire political and social life; however, in Jun 1940 the communist parties of the Baltic countries began to also put into practice socialist measures.

The authors correctly conclude that "the first victory of the socialist revolution was the education of the national governments, the second--was the tremendous success of the revolutionary powers at the elections for the national parliament, and the culmination of the revolution was the proclamation of the soviet power in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia on 21 Jul 1940." (p 314).

The monograph thoroughly exposes the general laws of a socialist revolution and the building of socialism in specific forms which are determined by a definite historical situation. An important conclusion is logically drawn from the content of the book: in a number of features of the socialist revolutions of 1940 new tendencies were expressed which later appeared in the nations of the people's republic and became characteristic for the modern world revolutionary process. This first of all relates to the peaceful way towards developing a revolution, the gradual process of destroying the old government apparatus and creating a political system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the close intertwining of socialist and democratic (particularly anti-fascist) reforms during the course of developing the revolution, rally the broad non-proletariat classes of workers around the revolutionary proletariat Communist Party. It relates to using at the initial stage of the revolution certain forms of the old political institutes of the bourgeois republics (the old constitution, the presidential post and others) with a change in its class composition.

The 1940 revolutions in the Baltic were the first socialist revolutions at the second stage of the general capitalist crisis. One of their special features was the fact that they were the first victorious socialist revolutions in history which were achieved in a peaceful manner. V. I. Lenin considered the possibilities of such a path most rare in history and most valuable (see Complete Collection, volume 34, page 135). The monograph

nicely shows the domestic and foreign objective and subjective factors which determined the victory of the revolution in the Baltic through peaceful means.

In the summer of 1940 a most important factor in the peaceful victory of the revolution was the decisive preponderance in the correlation of class powers in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania for the working class and peasantry.

The book soundly underscores that "the decisive significance for the peaceful development of a revolution in the Baltic countries was the power of the soviet state and its developed international influence" (p 291). The Soviet Union insured the favorably international conditions for the development of the revolution in these countries. In the absence of direct armed assistance from without, that is the incursion of international imperialist powers, the bourgeois governments in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania was forced to give up its power to the working class without armed resistance. Parts of the Soviet army were found in the Baltic countries. They were led in accordance with an agreement with the Baltic governments which prevented western imperialists from meddling in the events.

An important role in the revolutionary reforms was played by the elections in the middle of Jul for the national parliament (in Lithuania and Latvia--the National Seim, in Estonia--the State Duma) and their historical decisions which were approved 21-23 Jul 1940 on the establishment of Soviet power and the entrance into the USSR, and on the nationalization of the land, heavy industry and banks.

However, in the book it should have been made more clear and definite that the elections into the national parliament were not the means of overthrowing the bourgeois government and assuming power by the working class. These tasks had already been resolved before the elections and were decided outside the parliament. The elections were a political form of expressing the people's desire and it was a form of supporting the line of the Communist Party by the entire working class. The national parliaments legally secured the victory of the socialist revolution and declared a soviet form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in their countries.

The monograph correctly shows that "changing the seims of Lithuania and Latvia and the State Duma of Estonia into the original national organizations insured the successful completion (my emphasis--E. M.) of a peaceful transition of power into the hands of the workers and it created all the conditions for carrying out basic social reforms through the parliaments" (p 332). However, in connection with this certain doubts are evoked on the formation and approval which one finds in a number of places in the monograph (p 8, 303, 304, 313), on the use of parliamentary forms of struggling during a peaceful socialist revolution. Actually no "parliamentary forms of struggle" (in the generally accepted political sense of this idea) after the Jun revolutionary overthrow were used by the communist parties of the Baltic countries, for as the monograph says there already was no bourgeois government and the power was in the hands of the working class. In Latvia after the fascist overthrow of 1934, the parliament (Seim) was dissolved and did not meet. In Estonia and Lithuania at the moment of the overthrow of the bourgeois power, a

fascist type of parliament was operating which during the revolution was liquidated (in Lithuania 27 Jun and in Estonia 5 Jul 1940). Therefore, in the summer of 1940 in the Baltic there was no question of the communists' and their supporters winning over the majority in the bourgeois parliaments in order to reform the last ones into socialist type of parliaments. As the book correctly shows, the point was "creating new, genuinely national parliaments which would operate as expressions of the will of the working people. In accordance with these they would approve resolutions on establishing socio-economic reforms which would be socialist in their character" (p 303).

At the elections which were conducted in the middle of Jul 1940 on the basis of a new election law, the Communist Party appeared in the block with other organizations of workers. Keeping the old parliamentary names, the communist parties and national governments insured the selection of completely new in their socio-political composition and function higher organizations of the working class. These totally new national parliaments essentially played the role of proletarian constituent assemblies. Through a democratic process they solved basic problems of the social and state structure, legally secured the socialist path of development, proclaimed the establishment of Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and their inclusion in the ranks of the USSR. This was then a new phenomenon in the practice of socialist revolutions and the international communist movement.

In the Conclusion of the monograph, it is underscored that "the establishment of Soviet power in 1940 in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and their inclusion in the ranks of the USSR created very favorable conditions for the development of the Baltic countries in all areas of economic, political and cultural life" (p 480). It is enough to say that in the years of the soviet power, that people of the Baltic together with other fraternal republics achieved tremendous progress in all areas of life.

All of this supports the correctness of the historical path chosen by the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian people in the summer of 1940.

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